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R 151537Z APR 94
 FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8462
 INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
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DEPT PLEASE PASS TO AID
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 BUJUMBURA PASS TO LAURA AND GREG LANE

E.O. 123456: N/A
 TAGS: AEMR, CASC, APER, ALOW, KFL0, PINS, ASEC, PREL,

1. SUMMARY. WILLARD MUNGER, DEAN OF STUDENTS AND CHIEF SECURITY OFFICER AT THE SEVENTH DAY ADVENTISTS UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL AFRICA, ARRIVED IN NAIROBI FROM RWANDA THURSDAY NIGHT APRIL 13, 1994. HE HAD LED THE PARTY TRAVELING FROM THE UNIVERSITY TO GOMA, ZAIRE. EMBOFF MET WITH MUNGER SEVERAL HOURS THAT MORNING. LATER THAT AFTERNOON, MUNGER, EMBOFF AND OTHER EVACUEES (ALL MIDDLE-AGED SDA MISSIONARIES WORKING AT THE UNIVERSITY) DISCUSSED THEIR ORDEAL. THE EVACUEES GRANTED EMBOFF PERMISSION TO TRANSMIT THEIR ACCOUNT OF EVENTS IN RWANDA TO WASHINGTON. AT TIMES HORRIFYING, AT TIMES HEROIC - THIS IS THEIR STORY. END SUMMARY.

BACKGROUND: THE CAMPUS AND THE STUDENT BODY

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2. THE SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL AFRICA (SDA U) CAMPUS IS LOCATED IN NORTHERN RWANDA, NORTHEAST OF KIGALI, NEAR THE LAKE. ACCORDING TO MUNGER, THE PRESIDENT'S BIRTHPLACE IS IN (OR NEAR) THE PROVINCE. THE STUDENT BODY, FACULTY AND EMPLOYEES ENCOMPASS MANY NATIONALITIES INCLUDING RWANDANS (HUTU AND TUTSI), ZAIREANS, MALAGASSY AND AMERICANS.

TROUBLE BEGINS

3. WEDNESDAY NIGHT, APRIL 6: THE RADIO ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE DOWNING OF THE PLANE CARRYING THE PRESIDENT TRIGGERED IMMEDIATE CONCERNS BY MUNGER. HE KNEW THERE WOULD BE PROBLEMS, ESPECIALLY WITH THE MILITARY. THROUGHOUT THE NIGHT, HE HEARD SPORADIC SHOOTING. BY THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 7, HE COULD SEE FIRES BURNING IN THE VICINITY OF THE UNIVERSITY. THUS FAR, THE UNIVERSITY ITSELF HAD REMAINED CALM.

4. AT 2:00PM, APRIL 7, MUNGER WAS CALLED TO INVESTIGATE A "MINOR ISSUE" (UNRELATED TO THE BREWING PROBLEMS) AT THE STUDENT HOUSING, LOCATED UP THE ROAD

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FROM THE MAIN BUILDINGS. AS HE PULLED UP TO THE HOUSING, HE COULD SEE THE MILITARY, STATIONED ABOUT 200 FEET OFF CAMPUS AND ARMED WITH AK-47S, SHOOTING PEOPLE. HE ROLLED HIS VEHICLE TO A STOP AND JUMPED INTO A DITCH ON THE SIDE OF THE ROAD. HE WATCHED "THE SMOKE COME OUT FROM THE GUNS AS THE MILITARY SHOT PEOPLE STANDING ONLY FIVE FEET IN FRONT OF THEM." HE UNCLASSIFIED

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SAW SEVERAL HOUSES BURNING FIERCELY. HE RETURNED QUICKLY TO THE UNIVERSITY AND CALLED IN THE SECURITY STAFF TO ASSESS THE SITUATION.

5. IN THE AFTERNOON, MUNGER DISCUSSED THEIR SITUATION WITH THE LOCAL GENDARMES, LOCATED ABOUT ONE AND HALF MILES FROM THE CAMPUS. THE MILITIA PROMISED TO PROTECT THE UNIVERSITY. AS MUNGER WAS RETURNING TO CAMPUS, HE SAW THEIR ELECTRICIAN AND HIS FAMILY. THE ELECTRICIAN CRIED OUT THAT THE SOLDIERS WERE "CAUSING TROUBLE WITH THEM." MUNGER CONFRONTED THE SOLDIERS, BUT IT WAS OBVIOUS TO HIM THAT THE SOLDIERS WERE "NOT IN CONTROL OF THE SITUATION." MUNGER BELIEVES THAT THE ELECTRICIAN AND HIS FAMILY WERE TAKEN OFF CAMPUS BY THE

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SOLDIERS AND KILLED. HE DID NOT SEE THEM AGAIN.

6. THROUGHOUT THE AFTERNOON, THE TROOPS CONTINUED TO HARASS PEOPLE. CONVINCED HE WAS LOSING CONTROL OF THE SITUATION, THE LIEUTENANT SENT FOR MORE TROOPS. MUNGER REMAINS DUBIOUS ABOUT THE ROLE BEING PLAYED BY THESE

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TROOPS. HE IS FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT THE SOLE PURPOSE OF BRINGING THE TROOPS INTO THE VICINITY WAS TO CALM DOWN THE EX-PATS, SO THEY WOULD NOT CAUSE GRIEF WHEN THE KILLING OF THE TUTSIS BEGAN IN EARNEST.

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7. MUNGER ALSO CALLED THE US EMBASSY, ASKING IF THEY COULD INTERCEDE WITH THE LOCAL GENDARMES TO SEND ADDITIONAL HELP. MUNGER SAYS THAT THE GENDARMES REFUSED THE EMBASSY'S REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE FOR AMCITS AT THE UNIVERSITY. MUNGER THEN BECAME CONVINCED THAT IF THE EMBASSY EVER EVACUATED, THEY ALL MUST ALSO

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DEPART. HE NOTED: "WITHOUT THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE EMBASSY, WE WOULD BE HELPLESS."

8. AS EVENING APPROACHED, REFUGEES BEGAN SWARMING ONTO THE CAMPUS. MUNGER MOVED SOME INTO ONE OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE CLASSROOMS, THINKING THEY WOULD BE INVISIBLE TO THE VILLAGERS GATHERING AT THE UNIVERSITY GATES. HE WAS ALSO DUBIOUS ABOUT ALL THE STUDENTS; HE WAS CERTAIN THAT SOME STUDENTS WERE "PASSING ALONG INFORMATION ABOUT WHO WAS HIDING OUT ON THE CAMPUS."

9. THE NOISE LEVEL ROSE AS THE AFTERNOON PROGRESSED, REACHING A CRESCENDO AT ABOUT 6:30PM-7:00PM. THE EX-PAT COMMUNITY MET LATE THAT AFTERNOON, TRYING TO DETERMINE IF THERE WAS SOME WAY THEY COULD KEEP THE CAMPUS PEACEFUL. AFTER DISCUSSION, THEY DECIDED TO SCHEDULE PATROLS THROUGHOUT THE NIGHT. THEY ALSO ESTABLISHED TELEPHONE CONTACT WITH KIGALI AND THEIR OVERSEAS HEADQUARTERS.

10. THE PATROLS CONTINUED ALL NIGHT. ONE EX-PAT DROVE WHILE THE OTHER SHONE A SPOTLIGHT IN AN ARC. VISIBILITY WAS ABOUT HALF A MILE. ALTHOUGH THE PATROL UNEARTHED FOUR SOLDIERS ON CAMPUS, THE MILITARY LEFT AFTER THE PATROL CIRCLED THEM THREE OR FOUR TIMES. AFTER THAT, ALL WAS RELATIVELY QUIET ON CAMPUS.

11. OFF CAMPUS, THEY COULD HEAR ALMOST CONSTANT GUNFIRE. BURNING HOUSES ILLUMINATED THE NIGHT. THEY COULD SEE A NEAR-BY MOUNTAIN AS IF IT HAD BEEN LIT UP BY A FULL MOON. AT 1:30 AM, EVERYTHING WENT CALM. MUNGER THINKS THE SOLDIERS WERE FINALLY TOO DRUNK TO

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CARRY ON.

VIOLENCE EXPLODES

12. AT DAWN, MORE REFUGEES POURED ONTO THE CAMPUS. MUNGER ESTIMATES THERE WERE MORE THAN A HUNDRED REFUGEES AND "MANY, MANY, MANY CHILDREN." AT 6:00AM, FRIDAY APRIL 8, MUNGER CHASED THE REFUGEES OUT OF THE CLASSROOM. HE KNEW THE STUDENTS HAD BEEN REPORTING TO THE VILLAGERS AND HE WAS AFRAID THE VILLAGERS WOULD ATTACK THE UNIVERSITY. LATER HIS FEARS WERE JUSTIFIED AS VILLAGERS DID INDEED STORM THE ROOM WHERE REFUGEES HAD BEEN HIDING.

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13. AT ABOUT 7:00AM, MUNGER WAS ASKED TO GO TO THE GATE TO TALK WITH THE SOLDIERS THERE. HE HOPED TO NEGOTIATE A DEAL WHEREBY THE UNIVERSITY WOULD REMAIN AN "ARMS-FREE" ZONE. VILLAGERS WHO HAD ALREADY GATHERED AT THE GATE THREATENED MUNGER DIRECTLY. MUNGER TOOK THE KEY TO THE GATE AND LEFT. UNDAUNTED THE VILLAGERS SIMPLY DELINKED THE FENCE AND SWARMED ONTO THE CAMPUS.

14. AS THE VILLAGERS MET UP WITH THE REFUGEES, "THE BLOODBATH BEGAN." MUNGER HIMSELF SAW VILLAGERS BEATING STUDENTS. HE SAID: "THE NOISE SOUNDED LIKE A FOX HUNT; THEY SEEMED HAPPY TO BE KILLING." MOTHERS WITH BABIES TIED TO THEIR BACKS WERE BEATING AND

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CLUBBING STUDENTS. WOMEN WITH BABIES TIED ON THEIR BACKS WERE BEING SLAUGHTERED. TEN YEAR OLD CHILDREN WERE ATTACKING THE YOUNGER CHILDREN.

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15. THE REFUGEES IN ONE OF THE CLASSROOMS HELD OFF THE ATTACKERS FOR WHILE, BUT THEN THE VILLAGERS THREW A GRENADE INTO THE ROOM. MORE AND MORE GRENADES WERE THROWN. REFUGEES CAME STREAMING DOWN THE CAMPUS, RUNNING IN THE DIRECTION OF MUNGER'S YARD. HE SAW FOUR OR FIVE CLUBBED TO DEATH RIGHT IN FRONT OF HIS YARD.

16. AT ABOUT 11AM, MUNGER WAS FINALLY ABLE TO GET THROUGH TO THE GENDARMES WHO SENT SIX MEN. IT WAS "HOPELESS." SIX MEN COULD NOT HOPE TO CONTROL THE THOUSANDS INVADING THE CAMPUS. "THE UNIVERSITY WAS OVERRUN." IT WAS CLEAR TO MUNGER THAT THE GOAL OF THESE GENDARMES WAS SIMPLY TO PROTECT EX-PATS. THEY HAD NO INTENTION OF STOPPING THE KILLING. LATER, HE WAS TOLD BY A HIGH-RANKING WESTERN DIPLOMAT (NON-USG) THAT THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER HAD ISSUED THE ORDER AUTHORIZING THE KILLING ON CAMPUS.

17. THE CARNAGE CONTINUED THROUGHOUT THE DAY. AT LUNCH TIME ONE YOUNG MAN CAME RUNNING UP TO THE HOUSE YELLING "I'M FROM ZAIRE." THE CROWD TOOK HIM BACK TO THE MILITARY. MUNGER TRIED TO CONVINCE SOME REFUGEES TO HIDE IN THE SIX FOOT GRASS SURROUNDING THE CAMPUS, BUT NO ONE WOULD STAY THERE. MUNGER SPECIFICALLY SAID THAT THE DAY WAS SO "STRANGE." THERE WAS ALL THIS KILLING GOING ON, BUT THERE WERE NO CRIES OF PAIN, NO SCREAMING.

18. AT ABOUT 2PM, THE CROWD CAME LOOKING FOR MUNGER, THREATENING TO KILL HIM. FROM THEN UNTIL EVENING, HE

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SAT IN HIS BEDROOM.

19. LATE FRIDAY AFTERNOON, THE GENDARMES PICKED UP THE DEAD BODIES LYING ON CAMPUS. THEY REPORTED ONLY 230

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DEAD, BUT THE STUDENTS TOLD MUNGER THAT THERE WERE ANOTHER 200 WHICH THEY HAD FOUND. MUNGER HIMSELF SAW ONE SMALL CORRIDOR COMPLETELY FILLED WITH DEAD BODIES. HE SAID: THE BLOOD RAN LIKE A RIVET THROUGH THE CORRIDOR." HE ALSO KNOWS THAT ANOTHER 30-50 WERE KILLED AFTER THE STUDENTS MADE THEIR COUNT. THESE NUMBERS DO NOT INCLUDES ANYONE KILLED OFF CAMPUS. HE ESTIMATES THAT MORE THAN 1,000 WERE KILLED.

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20. FRIDAY NIGHT, APRIL 8: AN UNEASY CALM FILLED THE AIR. MORE REFUGEES CAME ON CAMPUS; MUNGER CONTINUED

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TO URGE THEM TO HIDE IN THE TALL GRASS. NO PATROLS
WERE ORGANIZED; NO ONE WANTED TO AGGRAVATE THE
VILLAGERS WHO REMAINED "OUT OF CONTROL." HE HAD
STASHED SOME MONEY IN THE SAFE. WITH IT HE WAS ABLE TO
NEGOTIATE SOME SECURITY FROM THE LOCAL GENDARMES.

FLEEING RWANDA

21. SATURDAY APRIL 9: THE KILLING BEGAN AGAIN IN THE
MORNING. HE SAW 15 OR SO YOUTHS AT THE UNIVERSITY GATE
CLUBBING SOMEONE. THEN HE HEARD ON THE RADIO THAT THE
EMBASSY WAS ORGANIZING AN EVACUATION CONVOY. HE TRIED
TO TELEPHONE THE NEAR-BY TOWN OF GISENYI, BUT ALL THE
PHONES WERE OUT. HE ASKED THE BELGIAN CO-OPERATIVE
TRAINING GROUP IF THEY HAD A BUS HE COULD USE TO
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TRANSPORT THE EX-PATS AND ALL THE FOREIGN STUDENTS. AT FIRST THE BELGIANS AGREED. LATER THEY SAID THEY COULD NOT COME BECAUSE THE GENDARMES REFUSED TO PROVIDE AN ESCORT.

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22. MUNGER DECIDED THEY WERE ON THEIR OWN. THE UNIVERSITY HAD A 10 TON DUMP TRUCK, SOME FLAT-BED TRAILERS, A FARM TRACTOR AND A FEW OTHER VEHICLES. AL SIMMONS, ONE OF THE SDA EX-PATS, ORGANIZED PLYWOOD SIDES TO THE FLAT-BEDS WITHIN THREE HOURS, BUT BY THEN IT WAS NEARLY NIGHT. THE RWANDAN AND BURUNDI STUDENTS (ABOUT 600 TOTAL) WERE ADAMANT THAT THEY WANTED TO LEAVE IMMEDIATELY. MUNGER TOLD THEM HE WAS NOT MOVING AFTER DARK. THESE STUDENTS THEN SAID UNLESS THEY WERE ALLOWED TO DEPART IMMEDIATELY WITH THE UNIVERSITY VEHICLES, THEY WOULD BURN ALL THE VEHICLES. THEY LEFT TAKING SEVERAL VEHICLES WITH THEM AND AN ESCORT OF

GENDARMES.

23. THE NIGHT WAS QUIET. ACCORDING TO MUNGER, NOT A SOLDIER OR A VILLAGER WAS OUT. A RUMOR HAD FLASHED THROUGH THE AREA THAT THE RPF WAS COMING. MUNGER BELIEVES EVERYONE WAS TOO AFRAID THAT THE RUMOR WAS TRUE. ALL THEIR NERVES WERE "TOO SHOT." NO ONE COULD SLEEP DESPITE THE QUIET OF THE NIGHT.

24. THE NEXT MORNING, SUNDAY APRIL 10, THE GROUP HAD TO DECIDE WHAT TO DO. MUNGER, THE EX-PATS AND THE REMAINING STUDENTS (MOSTLY ZAIREAN AND MALAGASSY) DISCUSSED THEIR SITUATION. THEY BELIEVED THAT THE NEAR-BY TOWN OF GISENYI WAS A "BLOODBATH." THERE WAS A
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RUMOR THAT THE RPF WAS COMING. THEY DECIDED TO HEAD FOR ZAIRE.

25. SINCE THE STUDENTS HAD TAKEN SOME VEHICLES, THEY WERE LEFT WITH ONLY ONE BIG VEHICLE AND A FEW PERSONAL CARS TO TRANSPORT THE REMAINING 200-300 PEOPLE. THE BELGIANS SAID THEY WOULD COME OUT AND ASSIST, AND THEY DID, ARRIVING WITHIN 15 MINUTES. THE KILLING WENT ON ALL DURING THE TIME EVERYONE WAS BEING LOADED INTO THE VEHICLES.

26. JUST AS THEY WERE PULLING OUT, ONE OF THE EX-PATS

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WENT INTO LABOR. SHE HAD ALREADY HAD TWO CAESAREAN
SECTIONS. THEY PILED MATTRESSES INTO THE BACK OF A
PICK-UP TRUCK, CAREFULLY PLACED HER THERE AND HAD THE

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TWO NURSES TRAVEL WITH HER. THEY ALSO SENT A CAR FOR
ROS CARR, FAMED FRIEND OF THE DECEASED PRESIDENT AND
DIANE FOSSEY.

27. THE VILLAGERS HAD MASSED AT THE UNIVERSITY GATE,
BLOCKING IT WITH LARGE ROCKS. THE CONVOY SIMPLY DROVE
AROUND THE BARRICADE. TRAVELING SLOWLY, IT TOOK THEM
30 MINUTES TO TRAVERSE THE 6 KILOMETERS TO THE MAIN
ROAD. SINCE SEVERAL BELGIANS HAD ALREADY BEEN KILLED,
ACCORDING TO MUNGER, THE BELGIAN ESCORT PULLED THEIR
CAPS DOWN TO COVER THEIR FACES AS THE CONVOY PASSED
CHECKPOINT AFTER CHECKPOINT ALONG THE 30 KILOMETER
ROUTE INTO GISENYI, ARRIVING AT ABOUT 9:30AM.

28. GISENYI WAS A "GHOST TOWN." THERE WERE NO CARS
ANYWHERE. THERE WAS ALSO NO FOOD, NO WATER. THE WOMAN
IN LABOR WAS WHISKED TO THE HOSPITAL. THEY WAITED AND
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WAITED FOR PERMISSION TO FINALLY CROSS THE BORDER,
LOCATED A MERE 100 YARDS FROM TOWN. FINALLY AT 4PM THE
CONVOY WAS ALLOWED TO START FOR THE BORDER.

29. THE BORDER CROSSING WAS EXTREMELY TENSE,
ESPECIALLY SINCE ONE OF THE FAMILIES WAS A RWANDAN
FAMILY WITH TWO AMCIT CHILDREN. THEY HID THE FAMILY

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NEAR THE MIDDLE OF THE CONVOY HOPING TO SLIP IT THROUGH THE CHECKPOINT. PROCESSING BEGAN AT 4:LOPM. THE LAST PERSON AND VEHICLE CROSSED THE BORDER AT 9:30PM.

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30. ALTHOUGH THE RWANDA MILITARY GUARDS WERE RUDE AND BELLIGERENT, THEY WERE ALSO AMENABLE TO BRIBES. MUNGER WAS PREPARED TO PAY SUBSTANTIAL SUMS TO INSURE THAT THE RWANDA/AMERICAN FAMILY MADE IT ACROSS THE BORDER. IN THE END, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE FRENCH CONSEL IN ZAIRE, NO BRIBES WERE NEEDED.

31. IN ZAIRE, THE ATMOSPHERE WAS COMPLETELY DIFFERENT. UPON ARRIVAL, THE EVACUEES WERE TOLD THAT "MOBUTU WILL PAY FOR EVERYTHING - ALL YOU CAN EAT AND ALL YOU CAN DRINK AND YOUR LODGING." FOR THE FIRST NIGHT IN DAYS, EVERYONE HAD A QUIET NIGHT AND SOME REST.

32. COMMENT. FROM HERE IT WAS MERELY A MATTER OF LOGISTICS, GETTING EVERYONE FROM ZAIRE TO EITHER KENYA, MADAGASCAR, OR EUROPE, AND THEN HOME. THE EVACUEES HAD DONE A HEROIC JOB IN RESCUING SO MANY STUDENTS, BUT THEY KEPT REPEATING AND REPEATING ONE COMMENT: DID WE DO THE RIGHT THING? DID WE ABANDON OUR FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES IN RWANDA? COULD WE HAVE SAVED THEM? NO

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AMOUNT OF REASSURANCE FROM EMBOFF OR FROM SDA HIGH-RANKING OFFICIALS WAS ABLE TO ASSUAGE THE GUILT THAT THESE BRAVE PEOPLE ARE BEARING UNNECESSARILY. END COMMENT.

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